34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

poses a problem for Indians engaged in collecting a specific kind of wild fruit or hunting a particular species of game. This situation is aggravated for the hunter by the fact that virtually all of the Jivaro territory has been hunted efficiently for a long period of time, with the result that game is not as abundant as in regions unoccupied by the Indians. This fact was particularly driven home to my Jivaro companions and me in 1969, when, in traveling through an unhunted "no-man's-land" between the Jivaro and the Achuara along the lower Río Cangaimi, which had not been exploited because of the enmity between the two groups, we encountered unprecedented quantities of monkeys and birds.

The Jivaro, under the circumstances, do not normally find collecting a very rewarding activity, and, in hunting, they cannot afford the luxury of specializing in a few large game animals, such as might be possible in some other environments. The blowgun, suitable for hunting game ranging from small birds to large monkeys, therefore, becomes a very important food-securing weapon.

Mammals especially important to subsistence include peccary, agouti, and such monkeys as howler, squirrel, capuchin, and black. Peccary and monkey are valued for both their skins and flesh, while the agouti and armadillo are utilized generally for the meat alone. Most species of birds, except for carrion-eaters, are hunted almost daily as sources of food and for their plumage. Birds most often killed include species of parrot, toucan, dove, and curassow. Both the large and small species of toucan are particularly prized for their pelts and feathers; jaguar, ocelot and other feline species are commonly hunted for their skins (see Plate 9). Rabbits and deer, although present, are never hunted for food, the former because they are "like rats," the latter for supernatural reasons (see p. 150).

— 34 Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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Stalking is the chief hunting technique, both for arboreal and ground-dwelling creatures. Monkeys and large birds are usually stalked with the blowgun (see Plate 8) and darts poisoned with curare (unpoisoned darts suffice for small birds). A poisoned dart is notched around its tip so that it will break off if a monkey tries to remove it. The hunter, usually alone, but sometimes with a male companion, waits until the monkeys are calling among themselves before stepping stealthily to the base of the monkeys' tree and blowing. The maximum effective range of the blowgun rarely exceeds 100 feet, but the silence of the weapon often permits the hunter to shoot several individuals before the troop becomes alarmed and swings off through the trees. The shot monkeys drop from the trees within a few minutes. The blowgun is not considered satisfactory for hunting ground-dwelling creatures, which are killed instead with shotguns and old Winchester .44 carbines, loaded either with shot or, rarely, in the case of the latter weapon, with bullets. Shy birds, such as the toucan, are hunted more with firearms than with the shorter-range blowgun.

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The blowguns and curare dart poisons are obtained almost entirely by trade from the Achuara, the Jivaro acknowledging themselves to be inferior blowgun makers and stating that they do not possess the right plants in their region to produce first-rate poison. The blowguns themselves are about seven feet long and made of a single piece of chonta palm which has been split down its length into two pieces which are grooved with great precision and bound together with fiber strips cemented into place with a black beeswax coating.

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Blowgun darts are easily made, in a fraction of a minute, by whittling the slender ribs of ivory nut palm leaves. In hunting, the darts are carried in a quiver around the neck or

14 Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

such through the hair over the ear, wrapped at one end with kapok to provide resistance when blown. The speed with which the darts are produced makes the blowgun an extremely economical weapon to operate compared, for example, to the bow and arrow, with which the Jívaro are not acquainted. Arrow making, as I have observed among the Cocabo Indians of the Río Ucayali region of eastern Peru, is a comparatively time-consuming process, and there is always the danger of losing arrows in the treetops when hunting monkeys or birds. Blowgun darts, on the other hand, are so easy to make that their loss means little to the hunter. Also, from what I have observed, blowguns tend to be more accurate in hunting small birds at close range. A final hunting advantage, compared to the bow and arrow, is that the motion involved in using the weapon is so slight, and the flight of the darts so unnoticeable, that game is rarely disturbed if the hunter misses his target. Of course, compared to a firearm, the blowgun is even more economical, but limited in range and not sufficiently fast-acting on large or dangerous game.

Dogs are commonly used in hunting peccary, jaguars, and ocelots, although a hunter, armed with a shotgun or carbine, may stalk them alone. When taking a dog on a peccary hunt, the man is accompanied by a wife, who handles the leashed dog, and also is frequently assisted by another male hunter. Even in hunting dangerous felines, only one dog is used to tree the cat, but up to a dozen people may participate.

Blinds, game calls, and traps are the main supplementary hunting devices. Conical blinds, made by sticking palm fronds into the ground, may be constructed at feeding places of toucans, agouti, or other creatures. Game calls are employed both in blinds and when stalking. Hunters call parrots without the aid of any devices, but blow against the

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

223 edge of a leaf held between cupped hands to summon toucans.
224 An ingeniously carved vegetable ivory mouthpiece is used to call agouti. This device often brings agouti to within fifteen to thirty feet of the hunter. Agouti are also sometimes dug out of their burrows by the hunters with digging sticks and aided by hunting dogs. If such efforts fail, traps are set at the mouths of the holes. Traps are otherwise rarely used.

The characteristic hunting expedition is undertaken by the individual hunter, with or without a wife and dogs, and does not usually extend beyond about eight miles from the house. He leaves the house at dawn and, if successful in killing a large animal such as monkey, peccary, or agouti, usually is home by early afternoon. If, however, the hunting is becoming poor in his area, and he has failed to secure meat for several days, he may range so far that he does not return home until dusk. He continues to go out every day until he succeeds in his quest.

224 When a man kills a large animal, he normally does not go
512 hunting again for four or five days. A typical routine is as
461 follows: the first day after returning from a successful hunt, he fells trees and clears slash for a garden; the next two days he rests, and does spinning and weaving in the house; the fourth day he goes to visit friendly relatives; and the fifth day he goes hunting again.

224 A second kind of hunting expedition takes place every two months or so in which the hunter, accompanied by a wife and also often by another friendly couple or two, spends about five days in more remote parts of the forest, usually seeking monkeys. Troops of monkeys are more efficiently hunted by men working together, since one hunter alone can usually only kill a fraction of the troop before the rest are startled and flee. The expedition is usually continued until its supply of manioc, plantains, and manioc beer is about to run out.

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

digging of footholes in house floors is a related new development. The construction of double walls behind beds has become common to protect sleepers from assassins attempting to shoot between the palm staves of the house wall at night. The construction of escape tunnels has declined considerably since the lessening of inter-tribal warfare, for their prime function was to provide a means of escaping the wholesale attacks and sieges which only occur in the inter-tribal head-taking raids. Log signal drums are now also relatively rare, due to the adoption of firearms, whose discharge is sufficient in itself to alert neighbors when an attack occurs.

A decline has occurred in the last three or four decades in the numbers of pigs kept, which is ascribed primarily to the fact that *tsentse* feasts now have become much less frequent due to the lessening of inter-tribal warfare. The raising of pigs was primarily directed towards having a large supply of meat for such feasts. The capturing and taming of wild animals and birds has increased, however, because of the demand for these by Jivaro trading partners to the west, who trade them to the whites of the frontier.

Hunting has become more important as an activity to procure skins and feathers for trade, although there is no indication that such specialized hunting has resulted in an increase of meat consumption in the household. The adoption of firearms has tended to increase the hunters' efficiency in killing rare birds, such as the toucan, which are prized for their plumage and are difficult to stalk at close range. Firearms also have facilitated the hunting of dangerous wild animals for their skins, especially the jaguar and peccary, which were formerly hunted with the lance.

Besides firearms, blowguns and curare dart poison are also utilized for hunting to a greater degree than was the case several decades ago. The intensified use of blowguns has